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The Shape of Things

LORD HALIFAX STARTS HIS NEW JOB WITH two serious handicaps—his record as chief assistant to the late Neville Chamberlain in the appeasement campaign and the fact that he represents the ruling class whose privileged position in Britain has become a complete anachronism. He is said now to be as determined as Churchill to stand firm until Nazism is smashed, but his actions will have to make that very plain before his past ceases to raise suspicions in the minds of American liberals. The willingness of Lord Halifax to seek a *modus vivendi* with Hitler and his inability to realize the nature of the Third Reich are still among the unsolved mysteries of British politics. For the new Ambassador is a deeply religious man, with personal integrity and a profound moral sense. How, then, could he have failed to be outraged by the Nazi persecutions of Jews and Christians? How is it that he did not instinctively grasp the fact that Hitler's terror, far from being mere scum on the "wave of the future," was an integral part of an amoral system with which no compromise was possible? Until his unfortunate appointment as Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax had enjoyed a reputation as an enlightened Tory, and as Viceroy of India he had shown an unprecedented breadth of imagination. We hope the American atmosphere will assist the resurrection of the Halifax of the twenties. His successor at the Foreign Office, Anthony Eden, now has a chance to prove himself more than a "glamour boy." The test will be his ability to rally to Britain's side all those elements in Europe which look to it for leadership in a new democratic order.

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BERLIN'S OUTBURST OF RAGE AGAINST THE United States was based on a rather casual speech made by the British Minister of Shipping, who suggested that Axis merchant vessels now in American ports might be handed over to Britain. This gave the German spokesman's tirade an air of spontaneity, but, for all that, it showed evidence of careful calculation, and if Mr. Cross had not provided an occasion, it is probable that some other pretext would have been found. For some months past it has been Dr. Goebbels's policy to foster general disparagement of the United States as one of the "pluto-democracies" but not to attack very seriously specific measures of American aid to Britain. Actions such as the destroyer deal were treated as unfriendly but not likely to influence the outcome of the war. Long before this country would be able to send significant quantities of material to Britain, it was suggested, the war would be concluded by a total German victory. Now, apparently, the Nazi press is to play a new tune, with shrill notes of protest and a thumping bass of threats. What is the reason for this change of tactics? We suspect that once again Hitler has revised his time-table of conquest and fears that American help to the enemy may become only too effective.

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GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE DISMISSAL OF Laval confirm the belief that he was completely in Hitlers' pocket and was ready to commit France to measures of cooperation too strong for Marshal Pétain to stomach. The armed reconnaissance of Vichy by Herr Abetz was clearly designed to obtain the reinstatement of a loyal henchman. It did not succeed, but the Nazi envoy was able to rescue Laval from house arrest and to carry him off to Paris. There, no doubt, he will be kept, in reserve in case relations with Vichy become too strained and need arises for a 100 per cent puppet government. Another concession to Nazi pressure was the appointment of Fernand de Brinon as delegate-general of the French government in the occupied zone. This puts negotiations with the German authorities in the hands of a pro-Nazi of long standing, who was saved from arrest as a fifth columnist while the Reynaud government was in office only by his flight to Switzerland. However, the final say about the extent of Franco-German collaboration rests with Pétain, who so far shows no sign of yielding to demands for the use of French bases and the French fleet against Britain. Yet German need of such assistance is growing with the losses suffered by Italy. The possibility of Nazi occupation of the whole of France has been

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mooted in case Pétain maintains his stand. This would give Hitler Toulon, but it might easily mean the return to the side of Britain of the French Empire and the fleet.

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THREE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY staff in Paris are to be recalled on the demand of the German government, which charges them with helping a British officer to escape and concealing a British secret agent. Mr. Hull has declared that a preliminary investigation shows that these officials had not been implicated in any wrongful act. Nevertheless, he added, any government has the right to request the withdrawal of officials of another government without submitting any reason for the demand. This, be it noted, is not a one-way rule, and we hope the Administration will hasten to emphasize that fact by asking the immediate return to Germany of those Nazi diplomats and consuls who have been especially active in fifth-column work here.

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VICTORIA KENT, ONE OF SPAIN'S MOST distinguished women as well as one of its most ardent republicans, has been seized by the Gestapo in Paris and turned over to Franco. Ten years ago Miss Kent created something of a sensation in Spain by obtaining first honors in Madrid University as a doctor of law. She began her career as a lawyer by defending the Spanish leaders who were tried as a result of their participation in the first republican attempt of December, 1930, the prologue to the overthrow of the monarchy. She was later elected a member of parliament and was very active in the working out of the Spanish constitution. After that she represented in the Cortes the moderate republican tendency of Señor Azaña. The end of the civil war found her in Paris as secretary of the Loyalist embassy. She remained in Paris even after the Nazi troops entered the city and devoted herself to the relief of Spanish children still in France. Now she has been delivered to Franco for trial before a military court.

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WE KNOW THAT THE GESTAPO RULES PARIS. The rapidly fading myth that it does not control the men of Vichy is now dispelled completely by the news that Spanish Loyalist leaders are being arrested and held in jail in unoccupied France. Largo Caballero, Portela Valladares, and Mariano Ansó are among those arrested. Señor Caballero, who is seventy-three, is well known, having been head of the Loyalist government in the first part of the civil war. Portela Valladares was a minister under the monarchy and Prime Minister in the conservative government in power during the elections of 1936, which brought about the victory of the People's Front. When the Nazi and Fascist aviation moved into Spain, he aligned himself at once on the side of the Loyalists, who had been his political opponents. Señor Ansó, a lawyer, was Minister of Justice in the Negrín Cabinet until 1938. Washington is reputed to have influence in Madrid and Vichy. It should be used, and quickly, in behalf of Victoria Kent and the Loyalist leaders.

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FEW NOBLER UTTERANCES HAVE COME FROM Mr. Roosevelt than the message with which he vetoed the Walter-Logan bill. "The very heart of modern reform," the President said, lies in the administrative tribunal, and "great interests . . . which desire to escape regulation" believe they can destroy reform laws "by sterilizing the administrative tribunal which administers them." Mr. Roosevelt's description of the administrative tribunal is clear and admirable. "A common-sense resort to usual and practical sources of information takes the place of archaic and technical application of rules of evidence, and an informed and expert tribunal renders its decisions with an eye that looks forward to results rather than backward to precedent. . . ." The Walter-Logan bill would have served in effect to repeal not only much of the New Deal's social legislation but much that preceded it. And the vote in the House to override the veto, though not sufficient to do so, showed that a majority in that body either does not understand or does not sympathize with the New Deal. The Walter-Logan bill is a clever lawyer's job, and called forth the President's old scorn for the profession in his veto message. The lawyers, he said, in a fine passage, "prefer the stately ritual of the courts . . . to the simple procedure of administrative hearings . . . prefer . . . shrewd play upon technical rules of evidence . . . prefer to . . . juggle leading cases rather than to get down to the merits." The lawyers haven't been so eloquently trounced since the mob scene in Henry IV.

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THE NEW NO FOREIGN WAR COMMITTEE, headed by Verne Marshall, editor of the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, insists that it is not made up of "appeasers," but a close examination of its leadership reveals ominous characteristics. The man who is given credit for organizing the committee and who serves as its director is O. K. Armstrong of Springfield, Missouri. Mr. Armstrong, a close friend of Charles Lindbergh, leaped into notoriety some months ago when, as a member of the American Legion's foreign-relations committee, he wrote an article on Treason in the Schools for the Legion magazine, denouncing as subversive some thirty-eight textbooks used in the schools. Confronted with a demand for evidence to substantiate his charges, he was forced to admit that he was not familiar with all the texts he had denounced and, in some cases at least, he withdrew his charges. The Legion magazine apologized and retracted in other instances, and Mr. Armstrong was dropped from

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the Legion's foreign-relations committee. Verne Marshall, chairman of the committee, has been engaged for many years in a similar campaign against progressive textbooks in Cedar Rapids. A prominent speaker at the meeting held in Washington on October 21 at which the committee was organized was Merle Thorpe of the *Nation's Business,* which last spring featured an article denouncing radical textbooks. For all its homespun, small-town look, the financial and political roots of the new committee strike into the same soil that nourishes the America First outfit; they may even be intertwined.

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WESTBROOK PEGLER, THE DISTINGUISHED author, critic, and grammar-school graduate, has now turned his talents to the refugee problem. Someone has told Mr. Pegler, who writes well but doesn't read, that France fell to the fascists because it had carelessly allowed all kinds of anti-fascists to come in and escape the headsmen of the dictators. Some of these must have been Communists, Mr. Pegler thinks, and even though most of them were dumped into concentration camps he guesses they had a good part in the doing-in of the French Republic. Now Mr. Pegler, faithful watchdog that he is, sees America threatened with the same danger through the machinations of "tricky, abusive, and high-handed" Harold Ickes. Just because refugees may rot to death in foul camps or get themselves shot by the Gestapo while waiting for visas, passports, and other necessary paraphernalia, this madman Ickes wants to let them use the Virgin Islands as a way-station where, whether they have credentials or not, they can wait in safety until the red tape is unraveled. Does Ickes think he can fool Mr. Pegler with that kind of stuff? Nonsense. It stands to Mr. Pegler's reason that the "greater proportion of them [the refugees] will be Communists who fled over the border into France after the Spanish Civil War and other Communists who, earlier in the general European revolution now in full eruption, escaped from Italy and Germany." Scratch an anti-fascist, he implies, and you're likely to find a Communist. But wait. Hasn't Mr. Pegler written many a column about Nazi murderers and fascist thugs? Can it be that Mr. Pegler is—? Oh, no. Still, he might be. It's pretty suspicious.

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IN OKLAHOMA CITY MERE MEMBERSHIP IN the Communist Party is regarded as a crime punishable by imprisonment for ten years and a fine of $5,000. This vindictive sentence was passed on Robert Wood, state secretary of the party in October, and has now been repeated in the case of Alan Shaw, twenty-two-year-old secretary of the Oklahoma City local. In neither case was any overt act charged. Both men were convicted of violating the state criminal-syndicalism law on evidence consisting of selected passages from the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Since the ideas put forward in these books were those of Communist leaders, it was charged, they must also be subscribed to by the accused. It would be difficult to find a more flagrant example of judicial outrage of the Bill of Rights, but a case in neighboring Arkansas runs it close. Here the Commonwealth Labor College at Mena has been fined $2,500, and though the case is under appeal, all its goods, including its library, have been seized and put on the auction block for the purpose of satisfying the judgment. The college was accused of propagating anarchism, of displaying an unlawful emblem, and of not displaying the American flag on September 23. With regard to the last count the law requires all schools, *when in session,* to fly the flag, but on the date in question the college was already closed permanently and its affairs were being wound up. The "unlawful" emblem proved to be a crude representation of the hammer and sickle in the concrete floor of a cubbyhole used only by the kitchen staff. The charge of anarchy was based mainly on passages from Marxist books in use at the college, for in the enlightened state of Arkansas anarchism and communism are just different names for the same thing.

Keep the Lines Open

OUTLINING to the press his new plan for aiding British purchases in this country, Mr. Roosevelt told a homely parable. Suppose, he said, a man sees that the house next door has caught fire. He immediately drags out his garden hose and doesn't stop to bargain with his neighbor about how much he shall be paid for it. He merely expects to get his hose back when the fire is out. If it is damaged, his neighbor will offer to repair or replace it. Put this way, the story emphasizes decent, friendly conduct on the part of the man with the hose, but the point might also have been made that he is acting prudently as well as humanely. For if the wind is blowing in his direction he may have good reason to fear that, should his neighbor be unable to subdue the flames, his own house may be the next to catch fire.

That is a point which Anglophobes and Naziphiles, sheltering under some such umbrella as "America First," choose to ignore. But the vast majority of plain Americans understand well enough the nature of fire. Aside from all sentiment, they want Britain to win because they are rightly fearful of the consequences to America of a German victory. But they want Britain to win, if possible, without America becoming physically involved. And that being so, the best form of insurance available is to make certain that Britain is not burned out for lack of fire-fighting weapons.

In a recent editorial we advocated outright gifts to

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Britain to enable it to continue its purchases in this country on the necessary scale. We suggested, however, that if assistance takes the form of loans, such loans should be expressed in terms of goods, and repayment provided for in the same medium. The merit of the President's new plan is its clear recognition of the fact that it is not dollars that Britain wishes to obtain from us but planes, guns, and munitions. He proposed that British orders for these materials should be taken over by the United States and merged with our own orders. Thereafter the proportion of total production indicated by military events should be either leased to Britain or sold subject to mortgage. At the end of the war these things would be returned or, if destroyed or worn out, replaced from British production.

As the President admitted, a number of legal problems must be solved before this scheme can go through, and it will also be necessary to obtain Congressional approval for the needed appropriations. One objection to the plan is that, if Britain wins, our need for war materials will be much diminished. Moreover, a year or two hence our own factories will be geared to immense production and will probably be turning out more up-to-date equipment than the British. It would be desirable, therefore, to make provision for repayment in other types of goods. We believe, however, that the President's plan could usefully be given a much wider scope by extending it so that all trade between the United States and the British Commonwealth would be put on a clearing basis. This would mean that, for the duration of the war, all payments for British purchases here would be made by the United States government and booked to the British account. Similarly, all American imports from the British Commonwealth would be paid for by Britain—which would have to make subsidiary arrangements with the dominions and its colonies—and debited to the account of the United States. At the end of the war a balance could be struck and settlement made in terms of goods specified by the creditor. Almost certainly this arrangement would mean a balance in our favor, but it might not prove to be so large as the present trend of trade indicates. For if the war lasts until 1942 or later, our defense program will tremendously augment our requirements of rubber, tin, wool, and many other raw materials produced by the British Empire.

It will be well to leave gold out of this arrangement since further additions to our existing hoard of this metal can do us no earthly good. On the other hand, freed of the necessity of shipping bullion here, the British could use their newly mined gold for purchases in Latin America and other neutral areas. As a result, gold would be distributed to countries now lacking it, and this would help to alleviate fears that its concentration in the United States will end in its repudiation for monetary purposes by the rest of the world.

The objection may be raised that we shall not be able to recover anything due to us if Britain loses the war. But in that event this will seem a very minor worry, and in any case it applies equally to any form of credit. We could, however, ask for a lien on British colonial possessions in this hemisphere with the proviso that it should be exercised only if Britain were defeated. Actually, should the war end in such a catastrophe, we should be compelled in self-defense to seize all these territories. The advantage of this plan is that it would legalize our action and is not open to the objections, previously put forward in *The Nation,* of a forced sale at the present time.

Whatever plan is adopted, it is of greatest importance that there should be as little delay as possible. The most crucial months of the war lie immediately ahead, and nothing will encourage the defenders of the British citadel more than to know that their supply lines will not be blocked by financial obstacles. It is equally essential that deliveries be speeded to the uttermost. A bomber in the air is worth five on the drawing-board.

State Department Versus Political Refugees

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LAST week the State Department put out a statement designed to silence the mounting protest against its handling of the emergency refugee problem created by the Nazi conquest of Western Europe. The statement was not particularly misleading; it was so patently disingenuous that it was unconvincing. It painted a fanciful picture of efficient and sympathetic yet careful procedure, operating smoothly to rescue the deserving and weed out the dangerous. And it cited figures which, however accurate if the basis for calculation were known, told lies of monstrous proportions when published without explanation.

But the document could hardly have been marked by assurance and candor; the department was aiming its stone at too many widely separated birds. It was trying to convince the Westbrook Peglers of its determination to defend the country from reds and spies and at the same time to rebut the charge that it has been obstructing efforts to rescue honest anti-fascists trapped in France. It was also attempting to translate into innocuous language the ominous rumor, appearing in the press off and on for several weeks, that some sort of "super-committee" would soon be appointed to pass finally on the admission of all political refugees. With so many incompatible ends in view the protestations of sympathy rang with a false note, and the statement as a whole only increased justifiable fears that the refugee problem will

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in the end be left to the harsh mercies of the most reactionary, anti-alien elements in the State Department.

For more than six months individuals and committees have worked desperately to save at least a handful of the leaders among the active opponents of the dictators. They have worked against time, knowing that the survival of these people is only a matter of months at best and that those who are not rescued face certain imprisonment or execution; knowing, too, that hundreds have already been delivered to the dictators. In this work, the most important and useful of all the active groups has been the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, headed by James G. McDonald and directed by George L. Warren. Indefatigably, cautiously, with full knowledge of the restrictions to be observed and the pitfalls to be avoided, this body has sifted lists of endangered anti-fascists, negotiated endlessly with the various departments to establish fixed bases for procedure, examined affidavits and records submitted by interested committees and friends, and finally submitted to the State Department carefully selected names supported by the necessary documents.

Working together in harmony and with a common aim, the private refugee committees, the President's committee, and the Department of State could undoubtedly have accomplished the rescue of the most endangered and most valuable anti-fascists in Europe. Owing to the department's inertia and its obstructive tactics only a handful have been saved. The record of delays, misleading reports, promises, more delays, refusals of consuls to act on instructions presumably sent from Washington—all this is bitter knowledge among persons engaged in the business of trying to salvage political émigrés. The department claims that it has refused visas in only some twelve instances. Doubtless this is true. The department does not refuse visas. It merely sets up a line of obstacles stretching from Washington to Lisbon and on around to Shanghai. These ordinarily do the trick, and in the process wear down resistance where an out-and-out refusal would produce noisy protest. The refugee who finally surmounts these obstacles must have had immense endurance and friends with both money and pertinacity.

The record is one which must sicken any person of ordinarily humane instincts. It is as if we were to examine laboriously the *curricula vitae* of flood victims clinging to a piece of floating wreckage and finally to decide that, no matter what their virtues, all but a few had better be allowed to drown.

But politically the behavior of the State Department is even more shocking. It betrays the profound failure of leading officials of the department to understand even the elements of the conflict in which the United States is inextricably engaged. Has the preservation of democracy anything to do with that conflict? If it has, surely the leaders of democratic thought and action in Europe will not be deliberately sacrificed to their—and our—fascist opponents. This position should determine every act of every official charged with the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Instead, what do we find? According to the State Department's pronouncement, a new committee representing that department—in the person of Avra M. Warren, most active and determined among the obstructionists—the Department of Justice, and the War and Navy departments will be charged with supervising the admission of political refugees. If this plan offered a way to straighten out the vast tangle of conflicting jurisdictions and rulings in which all efforts at present bog down, it would be a welcome change. But there is too much reason to fear that it will only add a new and far more reactionary committee to the official bodies already concerned. And if it is granted final authority, it will in effect wipe out the functions—and consequently the reason for existence—of the President's Advisory Committee. It is difficult to believe that the President himself would knowingly countenance such a change. The danger is that a calamitous result may emerge from a plan set up under the guise of useful and apparently innocent reorganization. Beware of State Department officials bearing reforms!

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Little Steel "Soviets"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 20

SEVERAL weeks ago Mark Sullivan dwelt with considerable alarm on the Boston *Globe* interview in which former Ambassador Kennedy said that England would be "National Socialist" after the war. Mr. Kennedy, he said, evidently meant "Socialist," and Mr. Sullivan wasn't sure that we ought to bother to save a Socialist Britain. Many people will feel the same way about Philip Murray's new "Plan for Strengthening the National Defense Program." They would rather not strengthen defense than do so at the price of taking labor into partnership with management.

Mr. Murray's proposal for a council in each basic industry, made up equally of the representatives of management and labor, has seemed to some uncomfortably like the NRA. I do not think that is Mr. Murray's intention. It would be better to go along as we are than to leave defense at the mercy of a combination in which capital and labor Alphonse-and-Gastoned each other into higher profits and higher wages. If I understand the plan, and the purpose of Mr. Murray and his aides, it is designed to speed production rather than to curtail it, to lower costs rather than to increase them. To lower costs, of course, is not the same as to lower wages.

Mr. Murray's plan, from all I can learn of it, seems to spring from the experience he and his closest aides have had in the steel business. The heads of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, contrary to the prevailing impression, which pictures them as "hunkies" in white collars, know a great deal about the industry's problems. They have frightened the RFC and several of the banks in western Pennsylvania by saving several small steel companies from bankruptcy. These companies, operated jointly by union sparkplugs and the owners, look like miniature steel "soviets" to visiting bankers. Alongside these worker experiments in cooperating with management has grown up an oddly intimate relationship between the small steel companies and the union. Theoretically the American Iron and Steel Institute is the trade organization of the steel companies. Actually it is dominated by United States Steel and Bethlehem. The small steel companies regard the institute with the misgivings with which minnows look upon a whale. They consider Walter S. Tower, the executive secretary of the institute, the employee of the big companies. His presence on the Defense Commission as an adviser on steel has not increased their confidence in that body. They trust the steel workers' union more than they do the institute and have been bringing their problems in connection with defense to heads of the union for help and advice. These executives of the small steel companies are as afraid to talk publicly as steel workers used to be of wearing a union button.

In steel, as in some other defense industries, the bottlenecks are really greedy throats. In the last war United States Steel, with 50 per cent of the industry's productive capacity, obtained 70 per cent of the war orders. Rose M. Stein reported in last week's *Nation* that this time Bethlehem, with 13 per cent of the capacity, has 40 per cent of the defense orders. No elaborate mathematics is required to demonstrate that this causes delay. The extent of the difficulties which result from this favoritism to the monopolists was not understood even by the innermost circle of the New Dealers until quite recently, when a group of small-steel-company executives met under the union's auspices—and as its guests—with a few trusted economists in the Administration. So fearful were these steel executives of retaliation that the man who told me the story would not tell me the place or time of the meeting or the names of any of the companies represented.

The "little steel" men proceeded to tell their troubles. They revealed the extent of idle capacity in steel. They cited eleven different small plants, with a total capacity of perhaps a million tons, which could be put together for defense with a little planning and a little ingenuity. These are not integrated companies capable of performing every step of the process from the mine to the finished rails or sheets. But they represent idle smelting capacity, idle forging capacity, idle finishing capacity, which planning could pool for quick production. Armor plate, for example, can be completely manufactured by three companies only—Bethlehem, United States Steel, and Midvale, but if the process were farmed out among smaller companies with idle capacity, we could make more armor plate. There would be added freight costs, but these costs would not be nearly so great as the cost of financing new expansion. One small manufacturer wanted to know what he could do for defense with 180,000 tons of idle ingot-melting capacity. He said that his steel, because of transportation, would cost $3 more a ton than the market price, but he estimated that the government was paying Bethlehem $21 more a ton for steel by financing plant expansion for it.

Another complaint was made on behalf of fifteen companies east of the Mississippi, owners of rerolling mills which turn worn-out rails into concrete-reinforcement bars. They employ 11,000 people but are working at only 50 per cent of capacity. The Defense Commission is

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awarding contracts to Bethlehem and other big companies for close to a million tons of these bars. The small companies assert that Bethlehem has succeeded in creating the fiction that it is dangerous to use the rerolled bars and is having the specifications written to call for bars made from primary (new) billet steel instead of rerolled steel. The small mills produce only the rerolled product. They claim that they conserve resources by rerolling scrapped rails and that both the Bureau of Standards and the American Society for Testing Materials have approved the rerolled rails for all but very special types of construction. The new War Department building is said to contain some 10,000 tons of these rerolled reinforcing bars, but the contracts for them were let before the Defense Commission was established. The small companies feel that defense can be speeded up by wiser —and less greedy—planning for seasonal demands on the steel industry from the automobile business and the canneries. They also want to know why some of their little plants cannot be expanded as well as the plants of the big companies. Expansion of the little plants would help break the grip of monopoly.

The value of bringing labor into the defense picture in steel, as in many other industries, is that it may help to dislodge vested interests in monopoly, in scarcity, in obsolete methods. Only labor can think of the productive process as a whole; only labor is interested in production solely; only labor can give some support to the small independents. The big companies now, as in the last war, want to strike as good a bargain as they can with the government, and they will give their cooperation slowly and grudgingly, haggling for new concessions at every step. They make it appear that they will be doing the government a favor by accepting new plants from it. Now modern war is war by factories, and factories like soldiers will have to be taught to march in unison and obey the sergeant if war is to be fought successfully. I don't mean to say that we ought to set up a dictatorship over industry, but if we want results we shall have to bark harshly at a few recalcitrants and teach business men to do their part without perpetual coaxing. The real sabotage of defense is sabotage by some big business interests who place their own shortsighted notions of profit ahead of production. Labor can help check these tendencies and it can bring broader horizons to business. What makes business most apprehensive about the Murray plan is that in some industries it may show that labor has more genius for production than management has.

Between Two Worlds

BY HAROLD NICOLSON

London, December 10

IN CHOOSING the phrase "world government" as the subject of this article I have been anxious to avoid at the outset those prejudices or affections which are associated with current terms, such as "League of Nations," "Federal Union," or "New Order," and to approach from a general and less topical angle the eternal problem of how to secure that law rather than violence shall regulate the relations between states.

It is important, I suggest, to realize that this problem is no new problem thrust upon the world by the failure of the settlement of 1919 or capable of being finally settled by some apochryphal solution sprung from the brain either of Herr Hitler or of Mr. Clarence Streit. It is a problem which has exercised the mind of man from the dawn of civilization and provoked many varying solutions, some of which have proved partially, locally, and temporarily successful, but none of which has proved universally or durably successful. In its essence the problem is no more than the extension to large communities of those habits of order and obedience which, in any group of civilized beings, regulate the relations between man and man. That same balance between rights and duties which in the long story of mankind has progressively regulated the relations between members of a family, members of a tribe, and members of a nation ought, it would seem, to be capable of almost unlimited expansion so as to embrace the nations of the world. It would appear at first sight that there can be little difference in kind between those processes which have rendered Great Britain or the United States comparatively ordered communities and those processes which could create an ordered community of nations.

The analogy between national fusion and international fusion might, indeed, be pressed farther. It is possible to trace in the several experiments which have been made in world government the same variations with which we are familiar in the evolution of national states. We have had the autocratic or tyrannical experiment, as under the *Pax Romana* or the European dominance of Napoleon. We have had the oligarchic experiment, as in the Castlereagh system of diplomacy by conference and in the ensuing Concert of Europe. We have even had mystic or theocratic variations, as in the Greek amphictyonies or in the Holy Alliance. And we have had in the League of Nations what might be called the democratic experiment,

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under which the nations of the world were to cooperate on a basis of theoretical equality. None of these experiments has proved permanently successful, and one is tempted in moments of pessimism to believe that the mind and soul of men are too narrow to admit expansion beyond a certain limit or to pursue enlightened self-interest beyond a certain horizon of awareness. Are we to admit, therefore, that man is only capable of subduing anarchy within prescribed limits, and that whereas he can achieve national order over wide areas of the earth's surface he is unable to achieve order as between nation-states? I refuse to accept so negative an assumption. But I remain aware that for three thousand years man has tried and failed to achieve any form of international governance comparable in certainty to the rule of state law. I approach the problem therefore, not in any mood of despondency, but in a mood of scientific doubt. And I view with alarm the optimism of those who believe that past failures have been due to evident and remediable errors and that all will be feasible now that so many of us have seen the light.

WHY HITLER'S NEW ORDER WILL FAIL

Let me begin by considering the nature of the checks and bars which have impeded what would seem to be a natural evolution from international anarchy toward international order. Why is it, in other words, that human beings are able to subordinate individual interests to common interests up to a certain point, but are unable to achieve that subordination beyond a certain point? Let us assume for the purpose of argument that the most constant and reliable of human motives is the motive of self-interest, and that the standard of civilization reached by any given community is to be assessed by the number of members of that community who have acquired the moral habit of placing ultimate self-interest above immediate self-gratification, and who have understood that the welfare of any individual is in the end dependent upon the welfare of the community in which he lives. In primitive societies this sublimation of selfishness does not extend beyond the family or tribe; in more developed societies the individual is able to identify his own interest with the interests of his class or country. In some communities, such as the United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations, this identification of personal with group interest has been expanded over very wide areas. Yet there has always come a point at which divergences of race, religion, culture, and language have proved barriers to further expansion and at which the sense of identity is frustrated by the sense of difference. It may be contended that in the present century there has emerged a feeling of class solidarity which has been able to transcend the limits of the old nation-state. Far be it from me to dismiss these extra-national sympathies as fictional or transitory. On the contrary, they may prove the nucleus of a new stage in evolution. But it has yet to be shown that these class sympathies are sufficiently deep and operative to withstand the conflict of sectional economic interests or to mitigate the instincts of national self-preservation.

It must be recognized also that science has in recent years gone far to level the barriers which separate different nations and thereby to enlarge the area within which the ordinary citizen may be able to identify his personal or group interests with the interests of others. Hitherto, however, the effect of rapidity of communications—the effect, that is, of aviation, the wireless, and the cinema—has not been so much to create enhanced sympathy with other forms of civilization as to diminish the old intensive confidence in one's own form of civilization. This may be all to the good in that it dilutes separation and, by diminishing extreme self-identification with a particular form of national consciousness, may prepare men's minds for the reception of a wider form of identification and a wider form of consciousness. It is interesting, and perhaps useful, to observe that in the first three decades of the twentieth century this leveling of the mechanical barriers between nation-states has created a formidable reaction in the shape of exaggerated and artificial differentiation. The very fact that the rapid improvement in physical and intellectual communication has led to some diminution in purely national identity has stimulated some countries to reaffirm and fortify that identity by appeals to national self-consciousness more emotional, and indeed more hysterical, than any which the world has ever seen before. The wave of nationalism which has overwhelmed Italy and Germany and gone so far to destroy the spiritual values of those two countries is not, as Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini would assert, a movement of rebirth, but is little more than a stratagem to affirm and increase national power by exaggerating in the twentieth century ideas which are in their essence alien to the spirit of that century and as such anachronistic. The whole trend of human progress has been from social violence to social contract, and in reviving violence as a method of adjusting international conflict, the totalitarian states are adopting a method which, however successful it may seem at the moment, is contrary to the tide and trend of human development.

Let us assume that when Herr Hitler proclaims his system of world order he is sincere in believing that under this system the nations of Europe, Africa, and Asia will attain to greater security and to a more even distribution of the world's goods. Yet even at this early stage of the New European Order it is possible to detect certain political and economic fallacies which will render Hitler's world government unworkable as a stable system. It is based primarily upon the theory of obedience rather than upon the theory of consent. Yet if Europe is to be reorganized upon the theory of obedience it will

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not for long be possible to conceal the fact that obedience implies some authority whom one is expected to obey. That authority will not be Rome or Paris, but Berlin. However anxious Herr Hitler may be to convince subject peoples that they are equal partners in a new experiment of world-organization he will not for more than a few months be able to hide from them the fact that his new order, his new discipline, emanates from a single center and is contrived for the benefit of the German ruling caste.

As a wholly academic theory it might be correct to say that Europe would be happier had it from the first been organized into industrial and agricultural groups exchanging their commodities freely with one another. Yet modern Europe is not a purely artificial creation but an organic growth; Herr Hitler cannot cut through the tissues of centuries without lacerating human flesh. Nor can he, even if we accord him powers of control and distribution which he cannot possibly perpetuate, impose so artificial a system without acting with a ruthlessness which will provoke passive resistance, sabotage, and famine. He will find sooner or later that the system of force, however he may seek to disguise it, is not workable in a world of modern and therefore of self-reliant human beings, and he will then discover that in basing his whole structure upon force he has destroyed that mutual human confidence upon which alone any contractual system can be erected.

Already, as I have said, there are indications that Hitler's New Order can only be maintained by armies of occupation. From the first he was obliged to suppress all freedom of speech and writing in France; from the first he has been obliged to impose upon the countries which he has occupied a disguised currency inflation which cannot for long retain its disguise; already he has been forced to deport some 30,000 workmen from Belgium to Germany; and in the last month he has had to send German contingents into Rumania in order to assure himself that that country's acceptance of the New Order would remain unqualified. He may be able, for a year or two, to keep vast areas of Europe in a state of subjugation; yet I repeat that whereas a system which is based upon consent is capable of almost unlimited expansion, a system which is based upon compulsion, however impressive it may seem at the moment, must in the end exhaust the resources and energies of even the most determined and efficient nation.

If this be true in terms of human nature and of politics, it is doubly true when one considers the economic difficulties with which Hitler will unquestionably be faced. Even if he possessed far better means of distribution than he does possess; even if he had at his disposal an elastic instead of a rigid system of exchange, even if he were able to dispose of all necessary raw materials, he would still be faced by the inescapable fact that no economic system can for long be operative which is based upon compulsion alone. By using his tremendous machinery of propaganda, by forbidding free thought and free discussion, by applying his uncanny insight into mass psychology, Herr Hitler may for a short time convince the peoples of Europe that under his system they will find, if not liberty, then at least a guaranteed security. But in the end it will become impossible for him to persuade the peasants and workers of the countries which he has subjugated that their self-interest is identical with the interests of their conquerors. In the end Hitler's world government is bound to fail.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Can we ourselves devise an alternative New Order which is more practicable, more durable, and more humane? We shall not do so if we regard this war merely as a war between Britain and Germany. We shall not do so if we contend that the totalitarian states are wholly wrong and barbarous, whereas we are always reasonable and right. We must recognize from the outset that there is much truth in the criticism leveled against democracy by Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini: democracy has not lived up to its own magnificent opportunity; individualism has been allowed to degenerate into egoism, and freedom into the avoidance of sacrifice; we have thought so much and clamored so much about our rights that we have forgotten all about our duties; and the inventiveness which democracy has unleashed has provided us with a mechanical opportunity which we have been too lazy, too selfish, and too stupid to exploit for common ends. Today we are hovering between two worlds, one dead, the other—it would seem—powerless to be born. Our elder statesmen know too little, and our younger men have not the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. We have reversed the old French proverb. Today it is *"Si vieillesse savait, si jeunesse pouvait"*—"If only the old people had the understanding and the young people had the chance." The old people do *not* understand: the young people have *not* got the chance.

It is not sufficiently realized in Great Britain that Hitlerism has succeeded because it pretends to be a revolutionary movement. It is not in fact a revolutionary movement; it is a counter-revolutionary movement. Yet democracy—which is a young thing in terms of history—having inflamed the whole world 160 years ago in the form of a heresy, has not as yet developed the vitality to survive as a doctrine. Hitler has imposed Hitlerism in in the form of a new hesesy. It is for us to reaffirm democracy in the form of a rejuvenated faith.

There are many things which Hitler or Mussolini say about democracy which are perfectly true. It is true that democracy arose as a revolt against strong centralized government and has therefore tended to weaken governmental powers. It is true that democracy has developed

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an exaggerated sense of individual self-indulgence, as of personal property. It is true that democracy has subordinated the constructive plan to a desire to please. It is true that democracy has not given to the sovereign people a sufficient sense of sovereign responsibility. It is true that democracy has proved incapable of coping with its own material, and even spiritual, success. Having achieved the political triumphs at which it originally aimed, democracy has failed completely to carry through those social and economic victories which it ought to have attempted. Democracy, in a phrase, has run to fat. No wonder that the lean, lithe bodies of the Hitler *Jugend* regard it with arrogant contempt.

Yet democracy, if rightly conceived, should not be a middle-aged or middle-class acceptance of the comfortable. It should realize that in contrast to tyranny it is a young and limitless experiment. Autocracy, being essentially material, must always be confined by physical limitations, the physical capacity of a small group to impose its will upon larger groups. Democracy, in that it relies upon intelligence and cooperation, has no limit to the possibilities of its expansion. Autocracy relies upon the body; democracy upon the mind.

We must remember none the less that government, and above all world government, must be based upon authority. The best international charters, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, even as the best types of social order, such as the Denmark or the Sweden of 1938, cannot be imposed or maintained without authority, or in other words without power. In condemning compulsion as a means of national and international government we must not forget that consent has got to be organized and disciplined, and that even righteousness may have to be protected by force. It is not sufficient to devise a democratic world order which will command the sympathy and the assent of the majority of mankind. We must convince the world of four things: first, that our New Order is not merely a device for maintaining the old order more or less unimpaired; second, that our New Order is in fact new, progressive, and creative; third, that it will possess the physical force to protect those who adhere to it from the aggression of those who may aim at its destruction; and, fourth, that under our New Order the peoples of the world shall obtain the very advantages which Herr Hitler offers them, and will at the same time retain their liberties, their national identity, and their hope of free development.

BRITAIN MUST PLEDGE—

How, therefore, are we to create the new democratic world which, while preserving all that was really useful and beautiful in the old, shall convince millions of people that its essential purpose is to create a sane and workable future? How are we to create this New Order without trampling, as the totalitarian states have trampled, upon the rights of man and the rights of nations? How are we to devise a system which combines authority with liberty and power with consent? That is the problem which we, with our tried political genius, are privileged, and indeed destined, to solve.

Our first task, to my mind, is to carry conviction both at home and abroad. By that I do not mean only that we should convince people of our good intentions, since the majority of people, although they deride our hypocrisy, would admit that on the whole we are a benignant race. We must convince the masses in our own country that we are determined, at any cost to the present social structure, to carry through a campaign against poverty, and to give to each individual in this island a secure prospect of food, health, habitation, maintenance, and opportunity. We must convince people abroad that we are prepared to give them a free share in the resources of our empire. I do not believe that we shall carry this conviction by making speeches; I believe that a definite plan should be formulated and published within the next few months. Only when the peoples of the world are convinced that we are willing and able to make drastic concessions to the common good will they accord to our promises and pronouncements that credit which they are bound to accord to the unwelcome, but effective, actions of Herr Hitler.

Our second task is to secure that our plan offers to the peoples of the world all the material advantages of the Hitlerian system plus the spiritual advantages of liberty and self-respect. We are in the position to do this. We can offer immediate supplies of foodstuffs to any country which is able to liberate itself from the Nazi yoke. We can offer entry into an economic system far wider and infinitely more elastic than any of the rigid systems which Herr Hitler can propound. We can offer them a new World Government which shall be based, not upon the subjugation of all smaller countries to German dictatorship, but upon the cooperation of all free peoples. We can offer them a federation which shall be strong enough to withstand any possible attack, which shall be united enough to eliminate the competition of past economic nationalisms, but which will enable each member of the federation to retain its own identity and habits and to develop its own autonomy.

Upon these lines I am convinced we could offer to the world a democratic as opposed to a tyrannical organization of the existing nation-states. Every truly democratic country will be welcomed into this loose federation. Its economic and physical power will be so overwhelming that few countries will be able to remain outside. And by so doing, this little island, with the help and advice of the United States of America, will for a second time in history have saved Europe and therefore the whole world from the loss of those great human values which it has taken man three thousand years to evolve.

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Music and Monopoly

BY MINNA LEDERMAN

BY THE time peace is declared between the radio industry and the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) we shall all have had a liberal education in the confusing issues of their dispute. As everyone now knows, unless a settlement is reached by the first of January, Kate Smith will no longer broadcast "God Bless America," and "request" programs, even the Hit Parade, will be in jeopardy. Recently, however, the newspapers have emphasized certain larger social implications of the feud. How these may bear on the final outcome is not yet clear, for the dispute is still contractual and may at any moment be coldly resolved in terms of dollars and cents.

ASCAP exercises control over the performing rights of nearly all America's best-known songs and musical works in smaller forms of the last twenty-five years, and of about a hundred thousand popular arrangements of pieces in the public domain. It is affiliated with nineteen foreign societies, whose output in the same field it also protects. This vast fund of copyright material it makes available by "blanket license" to various commercial users—theaters, restaurants, hotels, dance halls, wire services, radio stations. For that license, radio paid last year $4,300,000—about two-thirds of the society's total income. Now ASCAP has submitted a new contract so framed that in 1941 radio would pay a sum variously estimated at from $7,500,000 to $9,000,000. What is more, the networks, never taxed before, would be charged about 7½ per cent of their undistributed revenue. Fees from individual stations, however, would be progressively lowered, so that the lightest burden would fall on the smallest unit.

This strategy of division has so far failed. The outraged chains have rallied not only their own affiliates but most of the independents—in all about 457 stations representing 92 per cent of the industry's total time-sales—and through the National Association of Broadcasters have announced that they will not negotiate on the basis of ASCAP's long-established blanket license. Instead they demand a "per-use" contract. To implement their resistance they have pooled a million and a half dollars to set up an extraordinary new instrument—Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), which already functions as a "music publishing house, a coordinator of non-ASCAP music, and a performing-rights licensing society."

The struggle, at an impasse for some months, became a cat-and-dog fight between big and little business early in December, when BMI staged a raid on some of ASCAP's own publishing members. After one spectacular defection ASCAP closed ranks in what during recent years has proved its most vulnerable section. (At least half its largest publishers are today owned and controlled by motion-picture companies.) Now it has moved to the next stage of battle. For although the broadcasters might well be content to let ASCAP slip quietly off the air, and then sit back to wait for the verdict of their advertisers, ASCAP, cut off from radio, has turned to the press, where it is now vigorously stating its case and indirectly making a plea for arbitration.

This appeal to the public has raised the question of how ASCAP and the radio industry discharge their social function. Broadcasting, which is the fastest growing source of advertising revenue in America, unlike any other communications business may not operate without specific consideration of "the public interest, convenience, and necessity." Government licenses are issued temporarily and can be withdrawn if these provisions are not fulfilled—a threat which has determined many features of broadcasting, for instance, the custom of presenting "both sides of the case" and the "educational" character of many sustaining programs.

ASCAP's relation to the public is far less clearly defined and has not been legally established. It can best be understood perhaps by a comparison with the status of similar foreign societies. In Europe the principle of copyright ownership and the practice of group collection of music royalties had been established long before 1914, when ASCAP was born. Many of these associations are now officially recognized as national protectors of music rights and, though not subsidized, are to some degree aided in their business routine by the cooperation of government agencies. ASCAP faces a different tradition, for America has proved stubbornly reluctant to observe the provisions of its own law on musical copyright. In every field of entertainment, from the night clubs to radio, ASCAP has met organized commercial opposition, and has had to carry its case forward through a succession of major lawsuits. For its fighting record, shrewd handling of public relations, and successful dealings with commercial users of music, it enjoys great prestige in the musical world.

But it is still today involved in litigation over the right to collect fees. Several states have recently passed laws specifically designed to restrict its activity. Also pending is an important civil suit brought in 1934 by the Depart-

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ment of Justice, which alleges that the society operates as a monopoly in restraint of trade. Many points raised in that suit are now being aired by the radio opposition, which has added several of its own making. Like ASCAP the European societies issue some form of blanket license, and wherever possible this is paid for by a percentage fee levied on gross receipts. American radio interests claim that ASCAP taxes receipts from all programs, including those not using music; ASCAP says it is music that takes radio round the clock.

The great difficulty of winning ASCAP membership is another issue. To be eligible a candidate must have published five works. The requirement, according to the broadcasters, benefits a favored few and "stifles" young American talent. Restrictions exist in all other associations, the general intent being to separate the professional composer from the single-"hit" writer, but ASCAP appears to have set up very stiff conditions.

The bitter attacks made on the system of fee distribution are based chiefly on the fact that the number of current performances does not determine the rating of composers and authors—although it appears to do so in the publishing group. Instead, ASCAP stresses "seniority and service to the society, prestige, reputation, nature and number of works," and other intangibles. The Europeans, too, employ compensating devices but chiefly to overcome the inequities to which a strict performance accounting subjects serious composers. ASCAP's method is generally held to be arbitrary in the extreme.

Another charge is that the society is completely controlled in all vital matters by a self-perpetuating board of directors. This criticism is fully supported by a reading of its Articles of Association, which contain none of the usual provisions to safeguard democratic procedure.

Perhaps the gravest criticism leveled against ASCAP, one that has recently been discussed in the press with much heat and resulting confusion, is that it fails to represent adequately the musical forces of the country. In pre-Hitler Austria, for instance, the most highly developed musical civilization in the world, every established composer, author, and publisher belonged to the AKM (Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten, und Musikverleger), a society generally held to be a model in the performing-rights field. In 1937 AKM, functioning in a population of only 8,000,000, had a membership of about 1,000. ASCAP today numbers 1,084 composers and authors and 137 publishers.

In twenty-five years ASCAP has consistently refrained from moving in any important way into the field of serious music. Alone among such societies it does not collect royalties in the concert halls, where orchestras, chamber-music groups, and recitalists appear, and it does not collect anywhere for music in the grand-rights category—the large orchestral, choral, and chamber-music works. It has admitted about fifty well-known "standard" composers to membership. In a recent statement several of them have declared that the society makes them generous payments, but it is doubtful whether ASCAP collects on performances of their major works.

If ASCAP is now under fire, its chief opponents, the radio chains, are also having some unpleasant moments. Early in December the Federal Communications Commission called the network representatives to a public hearing in Washington to testify on "arbitrary and inequitable practices" charged against them by a special subcommittee. The committee had reported that "from a social viewpoint the profits derived from network operation have not been sufficiently utilized for the betterment and expansion of the industry." Further, it was charged, the two concert bureaus owned by the two leading chains, "which place about 800 of the best-known artists in the broadcasting field under exclusive contract," tend to "limit the effort of much of the great talent in the country to network programs and arbitrarily restrict the programs of independent competing stations as well as the communities in which they are located."

Now in their drive against ASCAP, the chains appear to be leading the industry directly into the field of music production. Broadcast Music, Inc., has possibilities, and any arbitration of ASCAP's immediate dispute with radio will scarcely dispose of this threat. Set up with the avowed purpose of establishing a "competitive market for music," BMI has adopted, in the interest of efficiency, the very method of blanket licensing which the broadcasters will no longer accept from ASCAP. For months it has employed a large staff of musicians to make workable non-ASCAP arrangements of established favorites in the public domain—"The Old Oaken Bucket," "The Blue Danube," the Stephen Foster songs. It has also published about two hundred new pieces written by non-ASCAP composers and authors, contracting to pay them one cent per performance per station—obviously a "per-use" substitute for ASCAP's classification system. It promises eventually to act as a collecting agency for the performing rights on this newly arranged and newly written music, but now, to popularize its product, it disposes of those rights gratis to any entertainment agency that will use them. Altogether it claims to have available about 250,000 copyright works with which to fill the gap if and when ASCAP goes completely off the air.

Whether this large and hastily improvised collection of new and old songs can meet an extended test is of course not clear from the partial trial it has already been given. Spokesmen for the industry are confident. "It is likely," according to Neville Miller, N. A. B.'s president, "that no one will notice the difference in character and quality of programs on and after January 1, 1941." This may be true—"The music the people like is the music people hear"—but it is not very reassuring. The speed-up, the plugging, the automatic production of songs now

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turned out almost daily to satisfy the appetite of the radio and the juke box certainly make one hit sound much like another. But if radio, the great "popularizer," has so leveled the public taste that Berlin, Gershwin, Herbert, Kern, Porter, Rodgers—the established idols of American light music, men of international reputation in their field—can be taken off the air without creating a ripple, then it is open to question how well radio has served the public as a communications medium.

If, on the other hand, ASCAP would function as the guardian of musical culture it now claims to be, a little house-cleaning seems in order. Limitation of the power of the publishers, who once before, and again in this crisis, nearly betrayed it, and who are generally credited with promoting the unrestricted plugging evil, appears to be indicated as a simple measure for ultimate survival. And if ASCAP assumes to speak as a representative of the country's composers, it may well open its doors to a more inclusive membership. Then in any argument with the expanding music business—now so securely in the grip of the electric-patent industry—it could more readily count on public support.

Within the Gates

SINCE its inception five or six months ago this column has been the target of a steady barrage of "crank" letters from the more articulate members of the American *fascismo*. That was to be expected, and usually these missives are filed and forgotten. However, a discussion of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Tashnags, which appeared in the November 2 issue of Within the Gates, brought forth a dozen or more apparently sincere and reasoned protests from Armenian-Americans. Most of the criticism hinged upon this column's assertions that "the policies of the Tashnags have paralleled those of the Nazis," that "they modified the belligerency of their published statements concerning the U. S. S. R. after the German-Russian pact," that "they are as obsessed with the idea of race as the Nazis," that they "frequently enliven politics with violence and terror," and that they have recently substituted Anglophobia for pro-Nazism.

The statement that "the policies of the Tashnags have paralleled those of the Nazis" was based largely upon three premises: the official publications of the Tashnags have time and again spoken favorably of the merits of National Socialism; they have developed a racial myth which includes anti-Semitism; and their anti-Communist convictions have plunged them into the excesses of red-baiting. These three devices form the keystone of most pro-Nazi propaganda.

The first premise is clearly sustained in the following translated extract from an article appearing in the *Hairenik Daily* of September 17, 1936.

> And then came Adolf Hitler after herculean struggles. He spoke to the racial heart strings of the Germans, opened the fountain of his national genius. . . . Now there is a Germany, strong, united, aggressive, proud, and self-reliant. She has torn and given to the winds the principal restrictions of the Versailles treaty and is now a national power, equal to, if not higher than, the great at the green tables of Europe and the world.

The same article gives currency to the discredited yarn that National Socialism is the great bulwark against communism. It quotes a speaker at a Nürnberg congress as follows:

> Berlin is the only barricade against the cholera known as Bolshevism. Germany is not only a nation-state but a European state with the calling of defending the ancient heritage of human culture against the diseases spreading from the Soviet countries.

Tashnag leaders may well have had what they considered to be a good reason for casting their lot with the Third Reich—the conviction that a victorious Germany would set up an independent Armenia under their rule. A letter from a German citizen to a member of the editorial staff of the *Hairenik Weekly*, published on May 3, 1935, sums up this hope.

> You ask me the Reich's attitude toward your nation [wrote the Nazi spokesman]. We Germans stand for the principles of self-determination not only for our German countrymen living under foreign oppression but also for any other nation suffering in the same way. . . . National Socialism is the mainstay of the national idea and the determined opponent of thraldom. According to the National Socialist program we Germans cannot but recognize your claims as thoroughly legitimate.

As to the Tashnags' anti-Semitism, the *Hairenik Daily* in the summer of 1937 ran a series of articles which not only approved and explained National Socialism but defended the anti-Semitic practices of the Nazi regime. The writer's prologue was as old as the history of anti-Semitism. "Here I publicly announce," he wrote, "that I have no enmity against the Jews. On the contrary, numerous famous Jews are my friends." Then followed the type of anti-Semitic discourse which later was popularized at the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak. The writer employed the familiar device of making synonymous the terms Jew and Communist. "As the British use battleships to occupy countries and to protect their fatherland, in this same way the Jew uses internationalism and communism as a weapon."

There is no need to elaborate on the red-baiting tactics of the Tashnags. Because Russia forcibly imposed a Communist regime upon a part of what once was Armenia, their antipathy toward it is easily understood. As to whether the Tashnags "modified the belligerency of their published statements concerning the U. S. S. R. after the German-Russian pact," it is difficult for one depending upon translations to measure degrees of difference. However, students of the language have reported that the attacks on the U. S. S. R. in the Armenian-language press have become less vigorous.

There is little doubt that the Tashnags "are as obsessed with the idea of race as the Nazis"—and in very much the same manner. On April 10, 1936, the *Hairenik Weekly* quoted O. Zarmooni, president of the youth group in Rousjuk, Bulgaria, as saying: "Our race is force; it is treasure. Today Germany and Italy are strong because as nations they live and breathe in terms of race." On January 1, 1935, it carried this thought to Armenian-American youth:

> I know my race. I believe in my race. I worship my race. I know that my race is great; that my race has given more

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> to humanity than it has received from it. I am a believer in race and, behold, I worship another deity, the blood of my race, in whose unspotted purity lies the sound future of my people.

That the Tashnags "frequently enliven their politics with violence and terror" is a generally known fact, and one that is usually admitted by Armenians. The police records in numerous European cities tell grim tales similar to that of the assassination of Archbishop Leon Tourian, which was reported in a previous issue of *The Nation*.

This column was in error in asserting that the Tashnags have substituted Anglophobia for pro-Nazism during the past year or so. Careful reexamination of their publications reveals that until quite recently the organization consistently maintained a stand hostile to Britain and France, not for ideological reasons, but because Armenian nationalists felt they had been completely overlooked by the victors of the first World War. For some reason—probably the same motive of self-interest which led them earlier to apologize for the Nazis—the Tashnags recently have modified their attitude toward England and France. But the fact remains that for a period of at least six years they served, perhaps unwittingly, as supporters of National Socialism.

The protest of the Hairenik Association is printed below:

The Case for the A.R.F.

Dear Sirs: The Armenian Revolutionary Federation was founded fifty years ago for the express purpose of freeing the Armenians from Turkish and Czarist tyranny. The federation has always fought for the ideals of democracy. The independent republic of 1918-20 which it created and governed for over two years was a thoroughly democratic state. Our whole literature is dedicated to the promotion of freedom and democracy.

It is true that force has been used in the history of the organization, but that force has been used only against the tyrants of Armenia. We have had a branch in the United States for forty-five years and a press for forty-two years, both with an unblemished record of American loyalty.

We have always been, and still are, opposed to all forms of dictatorship, be it Nazism, fascism, or communism. Our young people, the Tzeghagrons, do not ape the Nazis. They are a very active body, busy with their sports, dances, and educational programs. Acquainting them with their parental background has nothing to do with the impertinence of racial superiority.

The *Hairenik Weekly* is not trying to conceal the name "Armenian Revolutionary Federation," as was maintained in the November 2 column of Within the Gates. It uses "Armenian Federation" or A. R. F. for the sake of brevity.

It is true that the September 17, 1936, issue of the *Hairenik Daily* published an article expressing approval of Hitler's achievements, but it should be obvious to all that it merely represented the personal opinion of an individual and not the policy of the paper. The author endeavored to appraise the situation in the light of the facts, as did many others whose loyalty to democracy is unquestionable.

There may have been other articles or even editorials in 1937 in sympathy with Germany's effort to revise the Versailles treaty, but these pertained to general principles of national justice and the righting of obvious wrongs which even the British, the French, and the Americans admitted; their publication could not possibly mean approval of Germany's subsequent conduct.

The charge of Anglophobia is utterly unjust. We were with the Allies during the last war, and we made more than our share of sacrifice for their victory. It is true that after the Lausanne treaty we criticized the Allies for their betrayal of Armenia, but that has nothing to do with Anglophobia.

Your quotation from *Hairenik* to the effect that Nazism was the antidote to communism is a view which was expressed by many Americans and Europeans until the events of the last two years; just as *The Nation* itself used to consider communism the antidote to Nazism and fascism.* That is no reason why we should accuse *The Nation* of being Communist.

An Armenian youth writing in *Hairenik* quoted a German student as saying that Germany believed Armenians should have justice. How does that prove that we are identified with the Nazis? The charge of anti-Semitism is likewise unjust. We are on the most friendly terms with the Jews. Having shared much the same fate, we have always had a great sympathy for them. We cherish a profound gratitude to Franz Werfel, a Jew, who rendered the Armenians a great service by vindicating their cause through his book, "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh." It is not true that we ran an anti-Jewish series in our paper. The article to which you refer was written by a person who on the way to California met a Jew and then related his experience. It expressed the personal opinion of the writer. We could, on the other hand, show you hundreds of published articles proving our sincere sympathy for the Jewish people.

Zarmooni, the youth from Rousjuk, is not even a member of our organization. He wrote for the *Hairenik Weekly* merely as a reporter. Likewise, the author of the quotation from the January 1, 1935, issue wrote as an individual. Incidentally, he is no longer a member of the federation.

Our organization cannot be responsible for acts of violence by individuals. There is no party which can boast that none of its members ever committed an act of violence. Violence has been committed by individual members of all organizations, but the organization is not blamed for it.

Our policies are expressed solely through our editorials, and in calling an organization to account it is these which should be cited. Research will show that there has not been one pro-Nazi or pro-Fascist editorial in our papers, while there have been hundreds which were or might be interpreted as being pro-British.

It is not fair, in order to build up a case, deliberately to select passages from a paper to the exclusion of many more others to the contrary. Had you not limited the space, we could cite quotations mountain-high from *Hairenik* proving indisputably that we are anti-Nazi, anti-Fascist, truly democratic, and even very much pro-British. Why did your informer choose to select three isolated items from our forty-two years of journalism?

REUBEN DARBINIAN,
Editor-in-Chief of the Hairenik Publications

* Mr. Darbinian would be hard put to it to find an editorial expression of this thesis in our pages, since it was never our position.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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In the Wind

A CONSTITUENT wrote to Senator Rush Holt asking for a copy of a radio speech Holt had just made. He received the speech but noted that his name was misspelled on the envelope. Shortly afterward the same person received an appeal for a subscription from Scribner's *Commentator*—now the house organ of the Lindbergh party line. His name was misspelled exactly as it had been on the Holt cover.

THE ALIEN REGISTRATION director in Michigan recently got an inquiry from a woman asking whether she had to register. She hoped she wouldn't have to, she said, because she was an Englishwoman and was simply here on "a visit." "I came here," she added, "in 1884."

HENRY FORD'S fear of the growing boycott of his cars is taking tangible form. A special advertising firm has been hired in Detroit to "resell Henry Ford" to the city where he became famous—and where union members are refusing to buy his cars.

COMMUNIST YOUTH leaders are organizing a drive to combat a conference planned by the International Student Service, which is pro-New Deal and led by Joseph Lash. A recent issue of a Young Communist League paper was devoted almost exclusively to an attack on Lash, and there has been a "spontaneous" rush of delegates who want credentials to the conference.

THE WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE committee isn't politically monolithic; a lot of its members are pretty conservative. So a private letter has just been circulated admonishing the committee to recognize the legitimacy of labor demands in defense industries. It was written by Alfred Baker Lewis.

GEORGE SELDES'S new bulletin, *In Fact,* which has been steadily tub-thumping against "warmongers" and boosting isolationism, now carries a little italic note saying that it takes no stand on foreign policy. . . . Clyde Beals is out as editor of the *Guild Reporter.*

SOCIAL JUSTICE is steadily becoming more polite about the C. I. O.—ever since John L. Lewis backed Willkie and openly opposed the Administration. At the same time it retains its original character in respect to the Jews.

REPORTS PERSIST in newspaper circles that Dorothy Thompson will leave the *Herald Tribune* when her contract expires soon . . . and that Paul Revere II (Walter Winchell) may start writing regularly for *PM.*

EDSEL FORD played neatly into the hands of union propagandists recently. At a big social affair where everybody had to wear costumes he appeared dressed as a bull-thrower—and posed for camera men.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

DEMOCRACY:
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE
by Arnold Petersen

¶ The author, a lifelong student of government, politics and economics, has briefly sketched the successive forms of democracy, beginning with the early primitive democracies as exemplified in the systems of the American Indian and the early Greeks, tracing it through the period of Athenian democracy to the establishment of the American democracy of 150 years ago. The present form and practices of what now passes for political democracy are contrasted with the earlier forms, and the probable future of democracy—indicated as Industrial Democracy—is briefly outlined.

¶ A stimulating work on a much misunderstood and maligned subject. It attempts to show that democracy, far from being dead or dying, is really about to become fully realized. It shows what democracy meant to the slave-owning class of ancient Athens; what it meant to the "founding fathers" of our American Revolution; what it means to the capitalist, or labor-exploiting class of today; and what it will mean to the emancipated producers of the future Industrial Union Republic.

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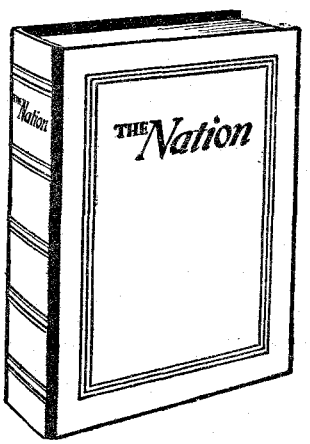

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

DOWN Route 61, which runs through the Middle South by Memphis into Mississippi, the sheriff of Shelby County, Tennessee, came with carpenters and painters from Memphis and put up a big sign: "Down the Road in Mississippi Are Gambling Dens and Dives."

Mississippi, which was then engaged in doing its Christmas shopping in Memphis, understood. "Crump," it said.

The old boss of Memphis, having driven the girls and the gambling dens from his city of power, chafed at the Mississippi state line, behind which both the girls and the gamblers waited for those people of Memphis who did not greatly mind riding a few miles to sin. Crump's sheriff said that if the sheriff of De Soto County, Mississippi, across the line did not do his job he would come over from Tennessee and do it for him.

The case was plain to some men in Mississippi. The case also seemed to some of them almost a comic country burlesque of dictatorial power on the great stage of the world. Old Crump is power. No great damage would be done to definitions if he were called dictator. Here, following the pattern of totalitarianism, he threatened behind high moral words to move in aggression against the democracy of Mississippi.

From a distance the whole business might be taken for one of those comic melodramas in which the South seems often so badly proficient if here arrayed were only the dictatorial old political boss and a lot of running-away but hanging-around dive proprietors, their crap shooters, and their girls. Unfortunately, however, this was the collision of America's most successful local dictator and the democracy of the state in which democracy has made its greatest failure in providing satisfactory and decent living for the majority of its inhabitants.

Maybe such a meeting of uninspiring subdivisions of the American democracy is unimportant. To much of America it seems a long way off. Crump is the unexcelled master of mobilized and docile middle-class Southerners. His power does not depend upon underworld ward heelers. Rotarians do his bidding. The best people vote as he says—or else. He gives them in government practically everything they desire except political freedom. They do not seem to miss that. Across that state line beyond the righteously warning sign there is no such power. But in the democracy of Mississippi hardly any Negroes are permitted to vote. Many white men are disfranchised by poll-tax laws. White men and black men get schools and other government services which drag bottom in America. The labor movement has practically been driven out of the state. In the great cotton-growing delta the poorest men in America live on the richest land.

Mr. Crump is no figure of evil. The people of Mississippi are not especially marked with stupidity in the mass or cruelty among the masters. Both Crump's dictatorship and the sloppier aspects of Mississippi's democracy grow out of the same debasement of agriculture, the same unequal gambling on cotton, the same crowded poverty of the Middle South. And both are aspects of the democracy of the country as a whole. Crump and the dives and dens hiding from his power beyond the Mississippi line grew out of the same economic inequality.

Around Memphis neither the dictatorship nor the democracy makes half as much difference to the little girl driven into the joints or the Negro wandering penniless on Beal Street as the possibility of decency in the United States. They are simple creatures. They do not know very much about democracy. They are not really frightened about dictatorship. The words and the phrases, the systems and the ideologies, are unimportant to them.

Like many of the rest of us, however, Crump and Mississippi together are talking loudly now about good and evil. Crump's men have been charging Mississippi officers with crookedness. Mississippi editors have been quoting the Bible at Crump about the sinless throwing the first stone. Some men in Mississippi have talked like fifth columnists for Crump, taking his side and wishing he would come over and clean up. Others have proposed a boycott of Memphis. Soon probably the anger will diminish. Memphis could not live without Mississippi, and most Mississippians would rather give up hope of going to heaven than going to Memphis. But the sound and the fury may be not only amusing but significant. The incident has suggested the mere noisiness of a lot of talk, far beyond Memphis, about democracy and sovereignty, aggression and power.

Down by the signboard on that Mississippi-Tennessee line the contending sheriffs used big words, too. Only the Southern dialect differentiated them from some of the speeches of the statesmen. But a stranger could feel that it was just talk there. The poor would remain. In the bigger world bigger men sometimes seem even more lost in their words.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

But We Who Waited

BY DAVID CORNEL DEJONG

Out of the cock's comb of eastern light
they came, beasts bearing them. Their
shadows reached forward, extending paws
of faith touching our knees, and we
opened our lips and cried to them.

Into the western bowl of the wheeling sun
they were poured; the tails of their horses
fanned, their shadows lapped backward upon
us with lavender pride, spreading
wistfulness over our yearning eyes.

When they passed we had turned like leaves
toward their light. They are gone. Behind
us night is blossoming black; ahead everything
is tapering out, leaving our speech adrift upon
the waning eddies of their pride.

Anatomy of Freedom

FREEDOM: ITS MEANING. Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

LORD ACTON'S lifelong struggle with two hundred definitions of freedom in the hope that he might distil from them the true one did not succeed. The public is as much bewildered about the nature of "true" freedom as was the great historian before he began his labors. Definitions continue to be struck off, often on the spur of the moment with a special case in view, and generally in ignorance of the difficulties upon which previous attempts were wrecked. Hence a seven-hundred-page symposium entitled "Freedom: Its Meaning" has a *prima facie* justification. The planner and editor of it, Mrs. Ruth Nanda Anshen, has moveover justified her double title by organizing the contents of the book and balancing the points of view. We are offered not simply another series of *obiter dicta* by famous men, but five groups of essays discussing freedom: in history, in the mind, in culture, in the body politic, and (for the metaphysical) in itself. The writers, two score in number, include Croce, Whitehead, R. B. Perry, Dewey, Shotwell, Boas, Beard, McIver, Bertrand Russell, Salvemini, Stefansson, and many others whose names will automatically occur as indispensable to the genuineness of the representation.

Some of the chapters, it is true, have appeared elsewhere, in recent or remote volumes by their distinguished authors. But the new matter by such men as Croce, Tillich, Birkhoff, Demos, and others is worth the closest attention of freemen. The brilliant Epilogue by Herbert Schneider gives, in addition, such an exact and yet critical account of the views expounded by his colleagues that a reviewer must despair of reproducing fairly the effect of the book. All that can be done is to indicate some salient points.

Croce's great essay on the roots of liberty—a part of his forthcoming treatise on history?—sets the tone of the best discussions that follow, by insisting on the importance of philosophy to freedom and on the incompatibility of general materialism and a narrow naturalism with it. One need not accept Croce's absolute historicism in order to agree with his critique, but it is comforting to find Birkhoff and Demos of Harvard, with Whitehead, of course, and three or four others, criticizing the same false conception of science as the major cultural interference with freedom. The notion that some abstract means of analysis, such as the economic or the physiological interpretation of action, can yield the "secret" of social life seems definitely in decline.

Throughout the book the emphasis is on liberties rather than on a single and definable freedom; which follows quite naturally from the distrust of analytic tricks. Few are doctrinaire individualists; the tendency is toward pluralism, with the values of individualism transplanted from the absolute soil of determinism to the fertile ground of intelligent social action. This may explain why Rousseau gets so many undeserved kicks in passing. It will not do to hint that his detractors have not read him, but it is clear that in reading him they have not understood the very modern "fictional" character of his method. He would find much of what is said in this volume a legitimate extension of his thought, and the alleged oppositions rest merely on a literal and often partial interpretation of his words: the first rule of Rousseau scholarship should be, "Never quote the first sentence of the 'Social Contract' without the second."

On a related point the contributors do not agree so well. For most of them equality is one aspect of liberty, but too much ink goes to waste over the question whether equality is a moral and political principle or a fact of nature. To raise the question argues an imperfect idea of what a fact is. Obviously equality is a way of looking at certain facts, and not itself a fact. So is inequality; which makes neither of them more or less true than the other, except when a given purpose is defined. To apply each principle with propriety, not to prove one or the other absolute, is the task of the legislator or moralist.

By contrast with the philosophers and historians (including the sociologists) the theologians (excluding Professor Tillich) and the scientists come off rather badly in their efforts to fit freedom inside their absolutes. Gilson and Maritain try nobly to defend the position that without a regulated and unchanging scheme of thought, freedom is delusive and chaotic. To support this idea they are forced to invoke "things" as giving rise to truth: the mind copies what is; and thus they find themselves very close to J. B. S. Haldane, who, forsaking the wisdom of his ancestors, adheres to a simple-minded mechanical materialism which he knows is Marxist and fondly thinks is scientific. The valuable lesson

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we can draw from this conflict of opinions is that unless an absolute is wholly transcendental—like Croce's or like any neo-Kantian's—it cannot accommodate a very full set of freedoms. Practical absolutes, whether scientific or spiritual, must dictate. Contrariwise, a practical pluralism can permit any number of non-militant absolutes, and thus satisfy the still widespread desire for certainty.

In adding one carping word at the end, I am not straying from the subject of this conclusion: the editor spells autarky with a final *-archy*. This makes the word mean self-rule, which is a virtue. Spelled as it should be, with a k, it means to suffice unto oneself, which, whether taken morally or physically as a denial of human interdependence, is precisely the kind of absolute that must always threaten the scant liberties vouchsafed to erring man.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Birth of Yugoslavia

FIFTY YEARS OF WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE BALKANS. By Count Carlo Sforza. Columbia University Press. $2.75.

AFTER the national integration of the European states in the nineteenth century two powder magazines were left in the southeast. One of them was blown up by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), the other, forty years later, by the Treaty of Versailles and the other pacts that wound up the first World War. Of all those attempts to reconcile conflicting interests and chauvinistic hatreds the most successful was the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), which adjusted the Italo-Yugoslav differences and which not even the Fascists ventured to overthrow. In preparing and concluding this treaty Count Carlo Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Giolitti Cabinet, was instrumental.

According to Solon, a legislator needs superhuman power to apply fairly the law he himself has made. Still harder appears the task of writing the unbiased history of an era in the politics of which the author played an active part. Count Sforza has not only surmounted this difficulty but has erected an admirable monument to the memory of Nicholas Pashich, whose life story is interwoven with the birth throes of the Yugoslav state.

Even more interesting than his vivid historical picture of post-war Yugoslavia is the author's explanation of the events that preceded the war, which "was in reality a new War of the Austrian Succession." Political dreamers like Mazzini, Lamartine, or Kossuth realized that a Balkan federation in concord with Italy could have upheld the Continental balance. Unfortunately, the practitioners of *Realpolitik*, the Prussian Junkers, the Austrian and Hungarian aristocrats, put their faith in the Kaiser's marginal note to Tschirsky's report: "Those fellows [the Slavs] can still be cured by blood and iron."

Reading this thrilling curtain-raiser to the tragedy of human civilization we may ask what is the use of crying over spilt milk. However, the same sinister forces are still at work, only on a larger scale. Contemporary megalomaniacs misname "living space" what Austrian and German imperialists captioned legitimate aspirations of the monarchy. Past errors are very instructive, for nations and statesmen are likely to commit them over again.

Count Sforza's lively style, animated by Latin esprit, makes his book delightful reading even for those who know as little of "those faraway countries" as the late Neville Chamberlain did. In another book which appeared some weeks ago, "The Living Thoughts of Machiavelli," for which Count Sforza wrote the introductory essay, the gallant anti-Fascist fighter had the courage to vindicate the greatness of the misrepresented Florentine clerk. In the present one he criticizes the duplicity of pre-Fascist Italian nationalists and renders sincere homage to Italy's rival in *mare nostro*.

And is Count Sforza not right in saying that in view of what happened in France "Western Europeans have no reason for looking down at the Balkans, their wars, their hatreds"? This may be an unsavory truth, but the rarity of those who utter unpopular truths makes them all the more valuable.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Russian Story-Teller

THE TURBULENT GIANT (MICOULA). By George Grebenstchikoff. Southbury, Connecticut: Alatas Publishing Company. $3.

DO YOU recall your first delight in the volumes of the great Russian story-tellers? Doubtless it flowed from these writers' sovereign gifts for the unsentimental portrayal, in dramatic narratives of intense realism and somber coloring, of the soft, unworldly inwardness of their folk, and for vesting their deep feeling in stark, simple forms. That pleasure is latent in a recently translated little prose epic by a living representative of the Russian royal story-telling line.

Its author is George Grebenstchikoff—born in Siberia, in a village of the Altai, in 1883. His father was a miner. One of his paternal great-grandfathers was a Kalmuk converted to Christianity; his mother was the daughter of a Siberian Cossack. The youth began getting his living as a clerk in an office of the Ministry of Forests and attended law school at Tomsk: it is precisely with the mining and mountain district of the Russian Canada and its fierce semi-Asiatic population that his fictions from the first have dealt. This regionalism of Grebenstchikoff's, of course, is in the Russian tradition. Sections of the empire provided many of the expressions of the best of his predecessors with their symbols: the Ukraine, those of Gogol; the countryside of Russia Major, those of Turgenev; Petrograd and its white nights, the terrific visions of Dostoevski.

In 1921 Grebenstchikoff and his wife made their way to Constantinople. Here the author worked as a longshoreman and contrived in spare time to write a story which the *Living Age* reprinted. From Turkey the pair went to Africa, thence to France, where "The Churaevs," one of Grebenstchikoff's fine novels, was published in Russian and translated into French and other tongues. Invited in 1924 by the Master Institute of Arts in New York, Grebenstchikoff, who had lectured in Germany and France, came to America and addressed some five hundred audiences. The couple next year decided to settle in the United States and started Churaevka Village, the Russian artists' colony at Southbury, Connecticut.

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Today their settlement sports a printing-press and publishing house.

The clumsy and soft, dreadful and self-sacrificing peasant-soul temporarily obscured by the revolution is exhibited in "The Turbulent Giant"—the part realistic, part symbolic narrative which brings Grebenstchikoff for the first time before the English-reading public—in the form of a legend of a contemporary peasant leader and as in a monstrance. What disconcerts at first is the extreme violence of the action in the book and of many of its effects. This violence is the obverse of the artistic force extraordinarily Grebenstchikoff's, the source of his work's magnificence—the force we call Dionysian, whose manifestation is the faculty of transport, overflow, ecstasy, just as the manifestation of the Apollonian, the complementary force, is the faculty of pellucid and continuous picture-making. The coherent picture-making faculty is infinitely less developed in Grebenstchikoff than it was in that master dramatist among the novelists, Gorki. But with his lyricism, rhythmic pulse, overflowing, passionately participating feeling which make us associate him with the characteristic Russian composers, he carries us out as it were midmost the movement and turbulence of existence and imparts a bodily sensation of it well-nigh unique in the literature of the period.

PAUL ROSENFELD

The Genius of William Morris

A VICTORIAN REBEL: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM MORRIS. By Lloyd Wendell Eshelman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

BOTH the age in which William Morris lived and the pattern of his hopes for social progress seem more remote from the era we are living in than many historical epochs far more distant in point of time. Communism of the Stalin vintage has replaced the essentially libertarian Marxism of the nineteenth century, while National Socialist mysticism, emotion, and violence and Nordic racial myths are, in some sense, the perverted offspring of the hatred felt by men like Morris and Ruskin for the "trader" values of capitalist civilization, of Ruskin's glorification of the "Gothic spirit" and of Morris's enthusiasm for "the social and religious ethic of the North" and nostalgia for the medieval world, in which, according to his view, men had labored with joy, and art had been the expression of the life of a society more healthy than our own.

In a letter quoted in this book Morris wrote prophetically in 1874: "Neither do I grudge the triumph that the modern mind finds in having made the world quieter and less violent; but I think this blindness to beauty will draw down a kind of revenge one day: who knows? So perhaps the gods are preparing troubles and terrors for this world again, that it may once again become beautiful . . . for I do not believe they will have it dull and ugly forever." This theme occurs again and again in his writings, as, for instance, when, years later, he expressed his opposition to the "economical semi-fatalism" of those Socialists who imagined that socialism would come as the sequel to the formation of giant monopolies. "I cannot help thinking," he wrote, that the historical outcome "*may be* the recurrence of break-ups and re-formations of this kind of monopoly, under the influence of competition for privilege, or war for the division of plunder, till the flood comes and destroys us all."

Morris hoped that "the mercenary ideals of competitive commerce" would be replaced—if necessary through a social revolution—by ideals giving men joy in their work, delight in beauty, and a feeling of human brotherhood. But the *Götterdämmerung* he foresaw is instead threatening the world with a revival of superstition and irrationality and the glorification, not of beauty, but of violence. We have arrived not at international cooperation and the feeling of social responsibility, but at an ever more blatant nationalism and a solidarity only between people of the same race or class.

The interest of this book lies more in the quotations from Morris's own writings than in the author's exposition or interpretation of his theories on society and art. Nowhere does the author attempt to bring Morris's views into relation with the world of today. The quotations from the poems, letters, and essays of Morris are well chosen, but the author gives the impression at times of being himself unaware of their significance in the light of recent history. For instance, in his account of the differences between Morris and the S. D. F., Mr. Eshelman's quotations show Morris's realization that the seizure of power by a minority would lead to worse evils than those Socialists seek to destroy. But the author never relates the Morris-Hyndman controversy to the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Morris and his small group were eclipsed by the Fabians on the one hand and by the Marxists, or pseudo-Marxists, on the other hand, there being basically far less difference between the Fabians and the Communists than between them and Morris. But Morris's view of social development and his perception of the danger to liberty inherent in the "extension of rights to the centralized bureaucratic state" have stood the test of historical experience better than the Fabian and Marxist theses.

In his review of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" Morris strenuously opposed fixation of the mind upon "the mere machinery of life." Bellamy, he said, would be perfectly satisfied with modern civilization "if only the injustice, misery, and waste could be got rid of." Morris himself always insisted that only a new kind of civilization in which art and labor became "the very act of living" could give man joy in life and end the feeling of frustration he experiences in our mechanistic civilization. The real ideal, he wrote, should point to "the reduction of pain in labor to a minimum." The siren appeal for a life free from toil, change, and fear seemed to him in his later years, as to the Orpheus of his early poems, nothing but a "vision of hopeless monotony." Such a view, according to the Marxist, is an aristocratic one, but Hitler's success in arousing the enthusiasm of German youth proves that even a Satanic myth has more dynamic force than the vision of an "ultra-modern mechanistic paradise" with which the Communists failed to arouse the workers of the world to revolutionary action.

Now that the Marxist sun is setting we may learn to appreciate better the genius of William Morris, and one hopes that Mr. Eshelman's book will be read by large numbers of progressives who have neglected him as a "Utopian Socialist" or romantic poet and artist.

FREDA UTLEY

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IN BRIEF

FAMILIES. By Karl Schriftgiesser. Howell, Soskin and Company. $3.

The stories of certain representative American families written in an elegant and readable journalese. Mr. Schriftgiesser does not attempt any new exposés, nor does he marshal his facts in support of any thesis. He does maintain, however, a healthy liberal skepticism. The book achieves considerable success within its limited scope. The author's catholicity of sympathy may be gauged from the fact that such diverse clans as the intellectual Jameses and the feudal lords of Delaware are both given adequate treatment.

STILL SMALL VOICE. By August Derleth. D. Appleton-Century Company. $3.

Zona Gale was a well-bred lady with considerable talent as a story-teller and great integrity as a person. She was dignified and American. Mr. Derleth treats her with the proper respect and manages at the same time to be informative.

THE ANATOMY OF BRITISH SEA POWER. By Arthur J. Marder. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

With the most thorough help from British sources, both academic and official, Mr. Marder, of Harvard's Bureau of International Research, has written the first comprehensive study of British naval policy during the formative period, 1880-1905. Although the author keeps to his subject with scholarly forbearance, the reader does not have to be an enthusiast for naval tactics to discover here a wealth of dramatic overtones.

MUSIC

THOUGH I missed the Chicago Symphony's two concerts in New York I feel that *Nation* readers should have the benefit of the penetrating comment of a Chicago correspondent on some of the new works composed for the orchestra's fiftieth anniversary, including Roy Harris's inevitable contribution to the current heart-searching occasioned by the troubled state of the world and nation—his "American Creed." Milhaud's symphony "was pretty good on the whole, the slow movement being very beautiful and touching. Last week John Alden Carpenter, a local worthy, offered a very tinny sackful of old kitchen utensils—'peaceful music' as he admitted and quite up the Republican alley. Then last night Harris's opus was performed. I composed myself to patience and justice, thinking: 'Now it makes no difference what you've felt toward his previous stuff or what Haggin thinks. Everything's got to have its chance, and this may be very beautiful and profound.' My composure lasted for ten minutes, when I began to feel as if someone were hacking at my flesh with an ice-pick, and by the time the ranting, hoarse, hacking, coughing eloquence had spent itself my skin had been ripped off alive and hung up to dry on a rusty spike. But you'll see what noble purposes lay behind it all, and how much it all ties up with MacLeish's current blather."

I cannot speak of Stock's work at those two concerts, but I know some of his work on phonograph records; and though it has given me respect for his purely technical competence it has left me with a much lower opinion of him as a musician than Virgil Thomson's. The recent recorded performance of Schubert's C major Symphony, the older ones of Mozart's G minor and Tschaikovsky's Fifth are at best mediocre, and at worst include a great deal of tasteless effect-mongering.

When the Benny Goodman-Budapest Quartet set of Mozart's Clarinet Quintet appeared in June, 1938, I said one would never suspect that the man who produced those lifeless sequences of undifferentiated sounds with the clarinet was the Goodman who played a popular tune with such saliency of phrasing; and I accounted for the difference by the fact that although Goodman had come to love Mozart's music, its language was not the one that he had grown up with and that he could himself speak, as a performer, with the naturalness, the richness and potency of inflection with which he spoke the language of popular music. Even by the time he played the work with the Budapest Quartet in Town Hall the following season his increased ease with the language of Mozart was apparent in the way the notes were now brought into relations with one another by differentiation in size and color. And today, when he is capable of the beautiful phrasing that he did in his recent performance of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto with the New York Philharmonic, he is reported as saying himself that in the recorded performance of the Quintet he was still just reading notes (which makes a number of people who gurgled about the records look like what they are). But though Goodman has reached the point of being able to achieve such beautiful phrasing by the study he is reported to have put into the Concerto, he is still at the point where this phrasing, though beautiful, sounds studied; and he has yet to reach the point where it will be done with the relaxed ease, the freedom and spontaneity that are the necessary conditions for it to acquire the sharpened contours of style. When he has acquired style himself he may judge it differently in others: at the moment he doesn't like Kell, whose style is in fact over-sharply nuanced; but on the other hand he admires Bellison—which is to say that he has yet to hear that on the Columbia records of Mozart's Clarinet Quintet Bellison produces not finely modulated phrases but sequences of big, round, shrill pumpkins.

The neglect of some of the greatest pieces of music ever written should be sufficient reason for the National Orchestral Association to put on the Mozart concerto cycle it has been thinking about but cannot get up the courage to do; just as the constant performance of almost every note of Brahms should be sufficient reason for the Association not to devote its Saturday afternoon series to a Brahms cycle instead. For the rest, the Association, which has maintained a training orchestra for young instrumentalists, has now set out to give similar training in operatic performance to young singers. From the performance of "Pagliacci" that was put on at a recent Monday evening concert it was evident that the school is getting youngsters with fine voices and doing a good job of teaching them how to make themselves effective on the stage; but it was evident also, from the constriction and tremolos one heard, that time should be devoted to teaching some of these youngsters how to use their fine voices so that they won't lose them. They were in front of the gauze backdrop, and the orchestra and conductor were behind it; yet there was a precision in ensemble—the result of preparation and discipline—that one rarely hears in an opera house. Nor is there usually lavished on "Pagliacci" the fine musical taste that was evident in Leon Barzin's treatment of the score.

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